

Message Text

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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20

USIA-15 OMB-01 COME-00 EB-11 LAB-06 SIL-01 DRC-01

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R 240430Z JUN 74

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2812

INFO CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

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E.O. 11652 N/A

TAGS: PINT JA

SUBJ: UPPER HOUSE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

SUMMARU: FIRST WEEK OF OFFICIAL CAMPAIGN FOR JULY 7 UPPER HOUSE ELECTION MARKED BY INTENSE ELECTIONEERING EFFORT ON PART OF POLITICIANS DESPITE INCREASING CONSENSUS LDP MAJORITY POSITION UNLIKELY TO BE GREATLY CHANGED. ALTHOUGH INFLATION AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS REMAIN SOURCES OF POPULAR DISSATISFACTION, CAMPAIGN RHETORIC HAS BEEN CONCENTRATED HEAVILY ON IDEAOLIGICAL DEBATE WITH LDP STRESSING ANTI-MARXIST THEME AND PROTECTION OF FREE SOCIETY WHILE OPPOSITION COUNTERS WITH WARNINGS AGAINST FASCISM. ESTRAVAGANT CAMPAIGN EXPENDISTURES AND DIRECT ROLE OF BIG BUSINESS IN SUPPORTING CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATES HAVE COME UNDER FIRE, WHILE FOREIGN POLICY AND SECURITY RATE VIRTUALLY NO ATTENTION AS ISSUES. CAMPAIGN HAS UNDERSCORED OPPOSITION PARTY DISARRAY AND INTERNAL SCHISMS. EMD SUMMARY.

1. BREIF UPPER HOUSE ELECTION CAMPAIGN HAS COMPLETED FIRST WEEK. 349 CANDIDATES WHO REGISTERED JUNE 14-15 MOUNTED TRAINS, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PLANES AND SOUND-TRUCKS IN FRENZIED APPEAL FOR VOTES DURING

23-DAY OFFICIAL CAMPAIGN PERIOD. ISSUES, PLATFORMS AND MAIN CANDIDATES ARE ALREADY WELL KNOWN TO VOTERS AS RESULT OF INTENSE PRE-CAMPAIGN PUBLICITY AND ELECTION RACE IS CLEARLY IN HOME STRETCH PHASE. WITH MOST OBSERVERS, INCLUDING MANY OPPOSITION SUPPORTERS, PREDICTING THAT LDP ALMOST CERTAIN TO RETAIN ITS UPPER HOUSE MAJORITY, ONLY QUESTION TO BE ANSWERED BY NATION'S 75-7 MILLION ELEGIBLE VOTERS ON JULY 7 ELECTION DAY APPEARS TO BE BY WHAT MARGIN LDP WILL EXCEED 126-SEAT TOTAL. ACCORDINGLY, POLITICAL SPECULATION IS INCREASINGLY FOCUSING ON IMPACT OF ELECTION ON LDP FACTIONAL BALANCE AND CONSEQUENCES OF STRAINED RELATIONS ELECTION HAS INTENSIFIED AMONG AND WITHIN OPPOSITION PARTIES.

2. PREVAILING CONSERVATIVE OPTIMISM CONTRASTS SHARPLY WITH MANY ESTIMATES HEARD FEW MONTHS AGO THAT LDP COULD CONCEIVABLY LOSE UPPER HOUSE MAJORITY IN THIS ELECTION. FOR MOST PART, SUCH VIEWS WERE PREDICATED ON EXPECTATION THAT OPPOSITION PARTIES WOULD SUCCEED IN CREATING UNIFIED CAMPAIGN AGAINST DIFFERENCES AMONG OPPOSITION OVER IDEOLOGY AND POLICY GOALS, HOWEVER, PREVENTED DEVELOPMENT OF UNITED FRONT. THIS WAS SIGNALLED DRAMATICALLY IN LAST APRIL'S KYTO GUBERNATORIAL CONTEST. (TOKYO'S 4509, 4635, AND 4854).

3. AT SAME TIME LDP HAS DEVELOPED ITS OWN HARD-HITTING CAMPAIGN APPROACH BASED ON CENTRAL THEME OF QTE PROTECTING FREE SOCIETY UNQTE. IN APPEAL TO ANTIPATHY TO MARXISM AMONG SILENT MAJORITY, LDP IS BLUNTLY CALLING ON PEOPLE TO CHOOSE BETWEEN APRLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY WITH FREEDOM OR PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP WITHOUT FREEDOM. LDP SYMBOLIZED ITS DETERMINATION TO DEAL WITH LEFTIST INFLUENCE TO LIMITS OF LAW BY RECENT ARRESTS OF JAPAN TEACHERS UNION OFFICIALS FOR INSTIGATING ILLEGAL STRIKE IN PARIL (TOKYO'S 7201, 7661, AND 7899). PRINCIPAL TARGET OF LDP CAMPAIGN, OF COURSE, IS JCP, WHOSE SOFT LINE AND ORGANIZATIONAL SKILL HAVE BEEN EFFECTIVE IN INCFEASING ITS POPULAR SUPPORT. KOMEITO AND DSP HAVE ALSO BEEN AIRING ANTI-COMMUNIST CAMPAIGN THEMES, WITH LATTER ESPECIALLY STRESSING CHOICE BETWEEN REFORM AND REVOLUTION.

4. FOREIGN POLICY AND SECURITY ISSUES ARE RARELY HEARD IN THS CAMPAIGN AS CANDIDATES CONCENTRATE ALMOST EXCLUSIVELT ON LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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LOCAL AND NATIONAL BREAD AND BUTTER ISSUES, EDUCATION AND BROAD CHOICES ABOUT STYLE AND ORGANIZATION OF NATIONAN LIFE REPRESENTED BY MODERATE CONSERVATIVE-REFORMIST CONFRONTATION. RECENT RELAZATION OF OIL CRISIS, PERCEPTIBLE FLATTENING OUT OF INFLATION RATE, AND HIGH WAGE INCREASES FOR WORKERS THIS SPRING HAVE HELPED ATTENUATE POSSIBLE ADVERSE IMPACT OF ECONOMIC ISSUES ON LDP.

5. TM ALSO, LDP EFFORT TO DIVERT VOTER DISCONTENT AWAY FROM ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF NATION BY DEVELOPING AND STRESSING ALTERNATIVE ISSUES SUCH AS EDUCATION AND WELFARE HAS APPEARED TO HAVE SOME SUCCESS. LDP POSTER THEME APPEALS FOR SUPPORT IN DIFFICULT AS WELL AS GOOD TIMES AND REMINDS VOTERS OF LDP SUCCESS FOR QUARTER AS WELL AS GOOD TIMES AND REMINDS VOTERS OF LDP SUCCESS FOR QUARTER OF CENTURY IN GUIDING LIVING STANDARDS TO EVER-INCREASING NEW HIGHS. LDP SPEAKERS COUNTER OPPOSITION CHARGES ABOUT GOJ TARDINESS IN LEGISLATING NEEDED MEASURES TO CONTROL INFLATION BY PINNING RESPONSIBILITY OF WELL-KNOWN STALLING TACTICS OF OPPOSITION IN DIET. PRIMIN HIMSELF HAS BEEN UNDERSCORING POINT BY FREQUENT CALLS FOR AMENDMENT OF DIET LAW TO PREVENT OPPOSITION FROM PARALYZING DIET OPERATIONS.

6. IN CAMPAIGN WITHIN CAMPAIGN, FRPIMIN TANAKA CLEARLY AIMS TO USE THIS ELECTION TO BUILD UP HIS OWN FACTION WITHIN LDP AS PART OF STRATEGY TO ENSURE REELECTION AS PARTY PRESIDENT NEXT SUMMER. IN PROCESS, HOWEVER, HE HAS BELIEVED MORE LIKE BULLDOZER THAN COMPUTER, AND HAS STEPPED HARD ON TOES OF RIVAL FACTION LE\$34 \$30UTY PRIMIN TAKEO MIKI AND FINMIN TAKEO FUKUDA. BOTH HAVE COMPLAINED PUBLICLY ABOUT HIGH COST OF CAMPAIGN, SINCE THEY ARE COMPLETELY OUT-GUNNED BY THE ALMOST UNLIMITED TANAKA WAR-CHEST. NOT ONLY HAS PRIMIN USED MONEY GENERALLY TO POACH IN THEIR FACTIONS (AND OTHERS) BUT HE HUMILIATED MASAHARU GOTODA (OF HIS OWN FACTION) TO RUN IN SINGLE-SEAT TOKUSHIA LOCAL CONSTITUENCY AGAINST LDP INCUMBENT

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NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20

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KENTARO KUJIME (MIK FACTION), WHO IS THUS FORCED TO RUN FOR REELECTION AS INDEPENDENT. TANAKA'S COARSE TACTICS HAVE ANGERED MANY, BUT IN PARTICULAR HAVE PUSHED MIKIE AND FUKUDA TOGETHER IN A COMMON CAUSE DESPITE DIFFERENCES WHICH HAVE LONG SEPARATED THEM.

IT IS TOO EARLY, HOWEVER, TO DETERMINE HOW THESE MOVES MIGHT AFFECT PRIMIN'S DRIVE FOR REELECTION IN 1975, EVEN IF HE DOES EMERGE FROM ELECTION WITH LARGEST FACTION IN LDP.

7. PRIMIN IS ALSO SPURRING HIMSELF AND PARTY CAMPAIGN WORKERS TO ACHIEVE 51 PERCENT OF VOTE FOR LDP. IN EFFORT TO ATTRACT GREATER SHARE OF INDEPENDENT VOTE, PRIMIN HAS INCREASED NUMBER OF POPULAR QUOTE TALENT UNQUOTE CANDIDATES (MOVIE AND TV PERSONALITIES) RUNNING IN NATIONAL CONSTITUENCY UNDER LDP BANNER. LDP DIETMAN NOT UP FOR ELECTION HAVE BEEN ORDERED BY PRIMIN TO CAMPAIGN AT LEAST FIVE DAYS OUTSIDE OF OWN DISTRICTS ON BEHALF OF PARTY CANDIDATES. ABOVE REFLECTS PRIMIN'S COMMITMENT TO GOAL OF REVERSING LONG-TERM DECLINE IN LDP SHARE OF POPULAR VOTE (A DROP OF ABOUT ONE PERCENT PER ELECTION, DOWN TO 46.9 PERCENT IN 1972 GENERAL ELECTION). IMPROVEMENT WOULD VINDICATE HIS OWN LEADERSHIP OF PARTY, DESPITE RECORD LOW PERSONAL POPULARITY, AND ACHIEVEMENT OF MAJORITY. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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VOTE MIGHT WELL BE CITED LATER AS POPULAR MANDATE IN FAVOR OF EDUCATION AND ELECTORAL REFORMS AND REVISION OF DIET PROCEDURES HE HAS BEEN PROPOSING.

8. UNPRECEDENTED HIGH LEVEL OF CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES, HOWEVER, HAS BECOME A CONTROVERSIAL ISSUE, AND WILL PROBABLY SPARK BITTER CHARGES AND COUNTERCHARGES FOR SOME TIME TO COME. IN LESS THAN MONTH, POPULARLY ACCEPTED NOTION THAT FIVE HUNDRED MILLION YEN NEEDED TO WIN HAS BEEN INFLATED AS HIGH AS NINE HUNDRED MILLION YEN. LOSER'S THRESHOLD HAS BEEN RAISED FROM THREE TO FOUR HUNDRED MILLION YEN. AS YARDSTICK FOR COMPARISON, HOME AFFAIRS MINISTRY LAST WEEK ANNOUNCED LEGAL LIMIT FOR CAMPAIGN EXPENSES IN LOCAL CONSTITUENCIES, RANGING FROM 3.7 TO 7.5 MILLION YEN, DEPENDING ON SIZE, FURTHER COMPARISON WITH REALITY IS TO BE FOUND IN EARLIER REPORTS THAT LDP FUND-RAISING ORGANIZATION, KOKUMIN KYOKAI, ASSESSED BIG BUSINESS FIRMS POLITICAL CONTRIBUTION QUOTAS TOTALLING TWENTY BILLION YEN IN 1973 (ABOUT 71 MILLION DOLLARS AT EXCHANGE RATE OF 280-1). PRESS HAS NOT YET EXPOSED QUOTAS ASSESSED THIS YEAR. CONSIDERABLE CRITICISM HAS ALSO BEEN FOCUSED ON NEW LDP PRACTICE INTRODUCED IN THIS CAMPAIGN OF ALLOCATING RESPONSIBILITY TO SPECIFIC BIG BUSINESS FIRMS NOT ONLY TO HELP FINANCE BUT

ALSO TO USE THEIR ORGANIZATIONAL RESOURCES TO ASSIST IN CAMPAIGNS OF SLECTED NATIONAL CONSTITUENCY CANDIDATES.

9. PRIMIN TANAKA HAS GREETED ALL COMPLAINTS ABOUT EXTRAVAGENT CAMPAIGN COSTS WITH RENEWAL OF HIS PROPOSAL FOR SMALLER ELECTORAL DISTRICTS WHICH HE CLAIMS WILL REDUCE SUCH COSTS. IN ONE CAMPAIGN SPEECH HE INDICATED ALSO THAT POLITICAL FUNDS CONTROL LAW MIGHT BE REVISED.

10. COMBINED OPPOSITION PARTIES ARE CONCEDED LITTLE CHANCE COLLECTIVELY TO MAKE MUCH HEADWAY VIS-A-VIS THE LDP IN THIS ELECTION BECAUSE THEY ARE UNABLE TO RECONCILE IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCESAN OVERCOME DEEPEATED RIVALRIES HAD NWORK TOGETHER IN CAMPAIGN. PROLONGED DISCUSSIONS HAVE PRODUCED ONLY TWO LIMITED EXAMPLES OF ITERPARTY COOPERATION, BETWEEN JSP AND JCP IN KOCHI PREFECTURE AND BETWEEN JSP AND KOMEITO IN THREE OTHER RURAL PREFECTURES. KEY ELEMENT INHIBITING COOPERATION WITHIN THE OPPSITION CAMP IS QUITE CLEARLY SUSPICION ON PART OF NON-COMMUNISTS OF LONG-TERM PURPOSE OF JCP IN JOINING LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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COOPERATIVE EFFORT.

11. ALTHOUGH THUS ISLOATED, JCP IS EXPECTED REGISTER GAINS IN THIS ELECTION. SINCE PREDICTIONS ARE THAT LDP AND KOMEITO WILL MAINTAIN ROUGHLY THEIR PRESENT STRENGTH, ANTICIPATED JCP GAINS ARE SEEN AS BEING MADE AT EXPENSE OF DSP AND JSP. FORMER IS WIDELY EXPECTED TO CONTINUE DOWNWAD SLIDE AND SPECULATION IS INCREASING THAT PARTY MAY SPLIT IF LOSSES ARE TOO GREAT. IFSPLIT OCCURS, IT IS BELEIVED MOVEMENT TO RETURN TO JSP FOLD WILL BE STRENGTHENED ALTHOUGH MANY WILL SEEK ACCOMODATION WITH CONSERVATIVES. IT IS NOT CLEAR HOW ANTICIPATED JSP LOSSES WILL AFFECT THAT PARTY ALTHOUGH IT LIKELY TO SHARPLY INTENSIFY HOARY INTRAPARTY DEBATE OVER QUESTION WHETHER IT IS REFORM OR REVOLUTIONARY PART AND FURTHER POLARIZE MARXIST AND NON-MARKIST WINGS.

12. NEVERTHELLESS, LOOKING BEYOND ELECTION OPPOSITION SEEMS TO BE GIRDING DURING CAMPAIGN FOR SUBSEQUENT JOINT EFFORTS TO BLCK EDUCATIONAL AND ELCTORAL REFROMS CALLED FOR BY PRIMIN TANAKA, AS WELL AS REVISION OF CRIMINAL CODE RECENTLY RECOMMENDED BY GOJ STUDY COUNCIL. JSP HASTAKEN LEAD IN CALLING FOR ORGANIZATION NNOW OF DEMOCRATIC FRONT TO OPPOSE WHTAT IS LABELS QTE FACIST, POWER-ORIENTED POLICIES UNQTE OF PRIMIN. MORE RECENT PROPOSAL BY PRIMIN TO REVISE DIET LAW TO ELIMINTATE OPPOSITION OBSTRUCTIONSM HAS FURTHER DTIMULATED SUCH CONCERNS.

13. COMMENT; CAMPAIGN IS RUNNING MUCH ALONG EXPECTED LINES. WE HAVE SEEN LITTLE TO CONTRADICT WIDESPREAD EXPECTATION OF LDP QTE VICTORY UNQTE, ALTHOUGH THE OUTSIDE OBSERVER

MUST CONTINUE TO WONDER ABOUT THE ELECTORAL IMPACT NEXT MONTH
OF THE OBVIOUS AND WIDDESPREAD DISCONTENTS THAT TROUBLE THE
PEOPLE. ELECTIONS IN JAPAN - AND EVEN THE VIABILITY AND
STRENGTH OF A GOVERNMENT - SEEM TO BE DETERMINED MORE
BY THE CONCERNS OF THE PRFESSIONALS DISCUSSED ABOVE THAN BY
THE DIRECT CHEMISTRY OF POPULAR ATTITUDES. JAPANESE THEMSELVES
FIND IT DIFFICULT TO EXPLAIN THIS PROCESS, BUT THEY ALSO SEEM
TO AGREE THAT SURPRISES ON JULY 7 ARE LIKELY TO BE FEW.
SHOESMITH

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